1:Spier E-5 (1918) 1928
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789 338). Luck is based on dreams (pp. 332, 341). The annual dance and the masked dance bring good fortune, rain, and make the crops grow (pp. 260, 266); feathers worn at the dance bring rain (p. 193). A formula is said when corn is planted (p. 102), when a bow is strung (150), and while tanning (p. 142).

Charms are used only in deer hunting: these are calculi found in the paunch of the deer.

302 754 I was told that hair cuttings are burned so that birds would not use them in nest-building, but I noted no care in their disposal. No care is taken of nail-parings. Cushing, however, implies otherwise:[1]

[572] As an evidence of confidence in a newly-made friend, a Ha-va-su-pai will sometimes give to him that whereby, in the native belief, even the giver's life may be taken by sorcery,—a hair, a bit of his skin, or a piece of his finger-nail,—this being an inviolable contract of peace and mutual regard.

789 A drawing made in the sand to illustrate a point is erased for fear someone will use it to make the draftsman sick, but how he would use it is not explained. Pictographs, which were made by the mythical beings (*Ilckáyúgálĺga*)—the Havasupai do not draw them—are harmless.[2]

The bullroarer (*t'igágwaúwa*, wood talking) is swung to make the wind blow and to bring clouds and unsettled weather when warriors set out. Before they charge on the enemy camp it is used to make the wind [534] blow hard, so that the enemy will flee before it. The bullroarer is a flat stick of rectangular shape, 25 to 30 cm. long and 10 wide, having notched edges and painted red. It is fastened by one end to a thong, 1.5 m. long.

A notched stick, laid flat on an inverted coiled tray basket, is rubbed [821] with another stick. The grating noise is said to resemble a frog and to [825] produce rain. The practice was thought to have been copied from the Hopi. The association of these ideas, frog and water, is also noted in the myths: pulling a frog to pieces causes a flood.

[829] A man sneezes because a woman is thinking favorably of him. He then thinks of her and she also sneezes. One also ejaculates: *vagígályúg sada'giu*, I am still alive.

Ringing ears are a sign that bad spirits are whispering to one; perhaps he will die. So he shouts: "Huuu, no; though you talk like that, I am not going to die."

Snakes are killed but in the case of rattlers care is taken not to touch 825 the blood or to let it spatter the clothes, for if it is "inhaled" it causes sickness.

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[1] Cushing, (a), 555.
[2] See Montandon for an account of these.

INDIVIDUAL DEVELOPMENT

Birth Customs

162 Havasupai families' averaging 4.7 persons, include roughly as
582 many children as our own. Girls marry soon after reaching maturity
836 and conception soon follows. Intercourse is not uncommon prior to this
848 time, but illegitimate births are said to be extremely rare. Yet in at least one instance such a birth did not hinder subsequent marriage.

842 No preference is expressed for either sex, nor do they claim to control
[787] the sex of the unborn child. However, by way of forecast, someone visiting the prospective mother will make string-figures which may resemble either a boy or girl.

843 For a month before the birth the woman and her husband must re-
746 frain from meat, and the woman alone from very salty foods. These taboos are relaxed a month after delivery, when hemorrhages cease. Should she ignore them there will be complications. During this time she must use a stick to scratch herself.

843 The child will be left-handed if the woman uses that hand much.
827 Should she hear a hawk (*ádjúda*) cry, her child will have the hawk's
753 spirit, which will cause it to sicken.

844 When a woman thinks delivery near, she calls her relatives. In one case observed, a young girl bearing her first child was closely watched, accompanying her mother everywhere. The mother assists the delivery, squatting behind the seated woman, clasping her hands above the abdomen and pressing downward. As this manipulation nears success, a husband, father, or brother is called on to assist with pressure applied to the front and sides. A hole has been dug in front of the woman to receive the child, in which a blanket has been folded in nest-like form. The umbilical cord is immediately squeezed and tied tightly an inch from the body, and then cut. Pressure is applied to the abdomen to cause the ejection of the placenta. This is buried deeply so that animals cannot eat it, for should they do so, the woman would become barren. The woman then stands erect to have a broad woven Hopi belt bound tightly around her abdomen in order to force out the fluids. Should this be neglected, they will flow into the top of the womb, causing death. Her mother washes the woman's hair and body with soapweed lather. Her husband has prepared a hole filled with hot stones outside of the house, or within it if it is winter. A bed of damp sand covered with old clothes is prepared on this; the woman lies face down, and is completely covered with blankets. The purpose of this is to continue the flow by heating

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The baby's first

854 thin hair is sometimes clipped off and tied in cloth in little bundles which [852] [827] are swung from the hoop. This is so that the hair will grow thick; if these were thrown away the hair would not grow. When the end of the [846] umbilical cord drops off, it is similarly wrapped and hung on the hoop. [732] If it is lost or thrown away the child will grow up idiotic. When at last the child can walk, the dry cord is ground to a powder which is smeared 856 longitudinally around his body from head to crotch and up the back to the head. This is done so that the cord will not be lost, i.e., it is returned to his body so that he will always have it. Mothers object somewhat to [531] selling these articles with the cradle. The ornamentation of the cradle does not differ for boy or girl.

262 The parents of infants must exercise a number of precautions. The 853 new mother must eat only corn soup in order to have a free flow of milk. Corn or bean mush is far too mealy. Similarly salt will dry up the flow; for salt on the ground makes it hard. And if her husband eats meat the woman will be harmed just as though she had partaken. Although 262 mountain lion flesh is sometimes eaten, it cannot be eaten or even touched [753] by those who have babes in arms, for the latter will pine, their eyes sink in, their bellies ache, and diarrhoea ensues. This also applies to the flesh of a deer slain by a mountain lion. The parents of crawling children do [856] not kill snakes for fear that the child will resemble the snake, i.e., not be strong enough to walk at the proper time. Infants are not permitted to [753] eat salt; it would cause white sores on the tongue.

854 No special prayers are offered for the growth of a child, nor is any reason assigned for the growing process, it is so "just because the child suckles and eats." A fretful nursing infant is given an adult's finger to 862 suck. Weaning is begun when the child can walk a few steps unsupported; when it runs alone, the process is ended. During this period the child is given a little of everything others eat (and it includes a vast array of indigestible foods!) for there are no special foods for weaning.

Names

551 Havasupai names are freely used in address or reference: they have no special emotional or religious significance. They are even told to strangers without much hesitation. This seems to be a corollary both of their insignificant character, for they are mostly nicknames or meaningless words, and of their being labels casually given by others rather than names assumed. Undoubtedly this common use of names accounts in [601] part for the imperfect usage of relationship terms, to which I have referred. They do not like to name the dead, relatives or others, but their

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There are several customary positions for sitting women. They usually sit on their crossed legs, the feet turned almost instep down (they kneel, cross ankles, and sit on their calves.) Or they kneel on one knee, then sit with that leg doubled under them, or the legs may be stretched straight forward, ankles crossed, when the back is against a support, or they may sit Turk fashion, the legs drawn up and crossed. The dress is pulled sharply back between the legs when sitting to avoid exposure. 516

Men's sitting positions are much more variable. Perhaps the commonest is similar to the women's usual mode. They also cross the legs Turk fashion, or lie half recumbent.[1]

Both sexes carry articles in the hand, never on the head as among the Pueblos. Men carry bulky articles by means of a carrying strap passing over the chest; women in their burden baskets, the strap of which crosses the forehead. 482

Left-handedness is as rare as in a group of normal whites: in 1921, three (two males and a female) were noted in 182 Indians. Should a pregnant woman use her left hand continually, the child will be left-handed. When the parents observe that the child begins to grasp with the left hand, they remonstrate and tie that arm across his abdomen. But this is no cure; he cries and the hand is freed. The right hand, literally "good hand" (*sŏlgahánà*) is so called because it can be used at will. It is wrong to shake hands, or to hand an object to another, with the left. People feel uneasy; say it is not a good way. A handshake, using the left, is no confirmation of an agreement or assurance of friendship; it may cover deceit. 516 827 856 576

Gestures are not common. The lips are protruded to point out an object, but the extension of the lips and the frequency of their use is never as great as at Zuñi.[2] In pointing or describing a circuit at a distance, the loosely clenched hands are held as in shooting a bow, the right hand near the right shoulder, elbow raised outward, the left arm nearly at full length and slightly to the left of the body. Both hands then describe the arc together. 201 [171]

To signify, "all gone," "all washed away," the right palm is brushed slowly but forcefully forward on the upturned left palm and then up forward.

The gesture used to describe an arrow shot, as in a tale, is not the same as the actual release. The hands are put in position as in shooting

[1] Neither men nor women cross the knees when seated on chairs, etc., nor do they squat on their heels. The arms are not characteristically held akimbo, as are those of African natives. The toes are never used to assist in working.

[2] The Southern Ute also use the lips in pointing [Lowie, (1), 263.] [171]

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827 To the primitive Indian, unconsciousness is "going dead for awhile." I learned this one day when I fainted in the classroom. The children ran from the room in terror, but later told me, "You went dead and we were afraid." The deduction was that one who "went dead for awhile" had most certainly entered the land of the departed and should have exciting experiences to relate.

177 However, the people were soon disillusioned. These emotional
796 orgies did not bring back their dead. Even more discouraging, some of those who climbed the pole were said to have died within a short time. This gave the Havasupai their reason for discontinuing the dance. But more potent forces were at work. On some reservations the dances drew large crowds and the emotional demonstrations reached such extremes that soldiers were called in to restore order. One agent, at least, resorted to strategy by preparing a big feast for the day of the dance. Food would be plentiful, and free—but no dancing. The feast was well attended—the dance floor deserted. Within four or five years the demoralizing ceremony was entirely discontinued.

796 However, after the terrific excitement of the Ghost Dance, the
527 older Havasupai women may have found their native Peach Dance a little slow, so resorted to hysterical demonstrations to enliven it.

The Peach Dance would end with feasting and horse racing.
796 For the feast men and women were strictly segregated. The former,
527 on one side of the race track, were discussing rules with Manakadja.
574 Across the track, the women were busy with food under a long open-sided shelter.

The men served the food, placing it, according to custom, on green branches spread on the ground. As a matter of courtesy, visiting men were served first. Then men of the tribe. Women and children shared what was left. The feast over, the leaders took turns lecturing the crowd on proper conduct.

796 Up to this time neither men nor women had manifested much
527 excitement. They had danced the previous night until long past
541 midnight, and were tired and sleepy. The loud thump, thump of the dance drum had echoed and re-echoed up and down the

854 As soon as the baby is old enough to play with objects fastened to the cradle hood, his hands are released for brief periods. When the mother wants the infant to sleep, she binds his arms inside the blanket so that he cannot wake himself with random hand movements. Each time the mother [856] removes the baby from the cradle (or more likely, whenever she happens to think of it) she molds his legs to make them straight. When a baby cries, he is fed or changed, or he is removed from the cradle for a short time. The mother may carry the baby in her arms, hold him close to her body ●[827] and tickle or caress him. When a baby soils himself, his stool is wrapped in something and placed high in a tree. If the stool is stepped on or mashed, [165] the baby will develop diarrhea. Parents have reason to dread diarrhea, for this is probably the most common cause of infant illness and death.

Before scissors were available, a baby's fingernails and toenails were pared by taking hold of the nail at one side of the finger or toe and peeling it across to the other side. Nail trimmings are placed on the baby's forehead [826] in order that a girl may always have a large tray full of seeds for winnowing, or, in accordance with the more common present day belief, that she may become a good housewife. The significance of this practice for a boy is that he may learn to shoot straight and thus obtain many buckskins for tanning.

512 The mother's time is spent almost entirely out-of-doors in good 854 weather. The family eats, carries on its daily activities, and may sleep, in the shelter of a brush arbor or under the shade of a tree. At first, the infant's cradle is propped upright near his mother. Adults and older children of the nuclear or extended families and frequent camp visitors speak to the baby, fondle him, or pick up his cradle, but the child spends much of his time apparently unnoticed by others. Although a baby receives frequent attention, he is not made the focus of everyone's undivided interest.

854 A mother keeps her baby near her much of the time. If the infant is fretful, the mother holds him with his cradle lying across her knees while she sits on the ground with one leg extended and the other folded sidewise beneath it. By raising and lowering her bent knee, she moves the cradle rhythmically up and down. To calm the baby, she may sing a lullaby which, in translation, entreats:

[533] "Tra-la, la-la, la-la
Go to sleep little baby;
Tra-la, la-la, la-la
Your mother is cooking (working?)"

A well baby seldom cries, exhibiting, as a rule, a placid countenance and a generally complacent attitude. During his early months, an infant's cries for food or attention are usually gratified before a high pitch of emotional stress is reached. However, if the mother is busy and no one is available to help, the baby is permitted to cry until the mother has time to

may be used, but whichever one is chosen is used both for body paint and for face designs. However, one woman insisted that ocher paint only was used at the menses, and that the red opuntia dye was reserved as a treatment for sunburn and the removal of freckles. In the latter connection it was explained that freckles may be caused by a female fetus during pregnancy and can be remedied by the above treatment. (One informant thought that her fellow tribeswomen were in error in their belief that sex of a child could be foretold by the appearance of such freckles, inasmuch as she herself had seen them appear during a pregnancy which resulted in birth of a boy.) 881 302 [757] [827] [843] [842]

Designs on a girl's face may consist of four vertical lines on each side of her nose, extending from her forehead to her jaw, the innermost lines passing the outer corners of her eyes. Vertical lines may be painted on a girl's cheeks, with a continuous line extending from her hairline down her nose to her chin. One pattern started with a line at the inner corners of the eyes extending outward across the cheeks, the smoothing motion used in executing this supposedly warding off wrinkles. These, or other facial designs used, are said to have no significance other than that customarily associated with the number four which is conspicuous in any grouping of lines or dots used. The body may be painted red completely from neck to foot, or lines may be drawn on arms from shoulder to wrist and on the front of thighs to the knee. 881 302 531 [801]

While it was stated that a menstruating girl should rise before sunup for her ceremonial washing and painting so she will be ready to run at sunrise, a discrepancy appears in that she is said to dry her hair in the sun. This suggests that, in practice, little attention is paid to the time certain actions should be performed, or to their sequence. 881 302 841

Running at Sunset and Sundown

At sunrise, a pubescent girl, already bathed, shampooed, painted, and attired in her puberty dress, runs toward the sunrise, and at sundown she runs toward the west to insure that she will be quick and unfailing in her work. As she runs she carries a slow match of cedar bark with which she touches her knees and elbows to prevent rheumatism in old age. On the three succeeding days, a girl is bathed, her hair is shampooed, and her body paint and face designs are reapplied. As on the first day, she runs to the east at dawn and to the west at sundown. Following this routine she gathers a bundle of wood and carries it to the camp of some woman who is exemplary in working so that she may attain this ideal. 881 [751] [372] [482]

Meanwhile, a girl's father has dug a shallow pit and constructed a temporary brush shade over it a short distance from the home camp. In the pit, which is about 4 ft. long and 1 ft. deep, a layer of rocks is placed with firewood. After being heated about an hour, the rocks are covered with earth and several layers of blankets to make a bed. When the girl has performed 881 843

834 she preferred to dress her daughter in waist overalls to discourage any
864 attempts by male playmates to pull her pants down or to make sexual overtures. She stated that she had warned her daughter against permitting any of the boys to disturb her clothing, and against exposing herself in a boy's presence. Nearly all little girls at present, however, wear dresses rather than overalls.

834 As a girl grew older, she was discouraged from association with boys
867 outside her kinship group. The pattern of isolated residence made it easy for parents to watch their daughters closely most of the time. Nuclear or extended families camped together during plateau residence, and, commonly, any close neighbors would be relatives. Their semi-nomadic isolation during much of the year afforded young people few opportunities to meet away from the vigilant eyes of parents.

867 Children of both sexes were taught from early childhood to beware of
609 strangers, the threat of enemy raiding parties being a constant worry. Girls, in addition, were expected to remain in the background when visitors, other than relatives, were present, particularly if boys their own age were in the group. Reportedly, the infrequent meetings between unrelated families resulted in extreme shyness of both sexes. The culture dictated that, ideally, a girl conduct herself with reticence and modesty.

[827] Boys, reportedly, were warned to refrain from sexual indulgence be-
[864] cause it would hinder proper growth and weaken them physically. When girls reached puberty, they were instructed that sexual relations would result in pregnancy. Spier (1928, 324) notes that 35 years ago adolescent
[114] girls remained under their mother's supervision, not being permitted to
[177] go about the reservation freely. Perhaps regular school attendance has broken down this restraint upon young girls. At any rate, girls of today come and go, alone or in small groups, much as they please.

574 Although a family formerly spent much of the time in solitude, families
857 assembled for economic or social occasions such as the pinyon nut harvest,
571 cooperative hunting activities, intertribal trading, funerals, autumn and winter story-telling, and, sometimes, visiting. Also families were close neighbors during the regular planting and harvesting season in Cataract Canyon. On such occasions, both on the plateau and in the canyon, play groups would almost certainly include unrelated children. There must have been opportunity on such occasions for young people to arrange secret meetings.

571 Concentration of tribal families on the reservation about 1895, and later at Grand Canyon, brought individuals into continuous group association.

boys and young men, or in a group of adults. Occasionally a boy may halt his horse on a trail to talk with two or three girls. Reportedly, it is assumed by any observer that the boy is carrying on an affair with one of them. 571 834

One informant stated that those girls who reach puberty before they are 12 years old, start menstruating as a result of having had intercourse with a boy. If this occurs, either or both of the girl's parents may beat her, but it is said that "today they don't beat her as hard as they used to." On the other hand, a boy is not beaten, but parents reprimand him for his part in the affair. Another informant denied that menstruation results from intercourse but verified that a girl's parents may beat her if they hear of her behavior. 841 834 684 827

Incidents of so-called rape involving teenage boys and girls occur occasionally, the participants often being a pair of boys and a pair of girls. Girls may loiter in appropriate places when returning home from a public activity after dark, and their protests are considered feigned when they are overpowered by the young men. Some parents make an effort to prevent their daughters from sexual involvement by escorting them home whenever possible. 684 834

One girl of 17 confided to me that she had been "out" with a particular boy on a certain night. "All girls have boy friends," she said. "A boy visits a girl's camp during the day pretending not to notice her, but they meet somewhere else at night. Each girl goes with a particular boy instead of changing around very often." A couple publicly known to have participated in an occurrence of "rape" four years ago, when the girl was 14 and the boy 16, later married.

Evidence indicates that virtually the entire male population keeps an eye on the young girls as they mature. Each year, one or two girls are considered the most pleasing in face and form. There is little doubt that the unofficial "Miss Havasupai" is under more than usual pressure from the male population. One such girl, following her initial popularity, is now labeled by at least part of her fellow tribesmen as a prostitute. It was reported that she caters to Indians and others in a nearby white community where she lives alone. 832 [548]

Behavior during Courting

At the present time, teenage individuals and young adults of both sexes flock to favorite swimming holes in the creek each afternoon. There, young couples may be seen privately conversing or enjoying water games together. Opportunity thus exists for them to arrange a rendezvous and to slip away separately during the afternoon, or to meet at another time. 584 834

It was noted that certain couples who engaged in conversation at the swimming hole in the absence of their elders, were ones reportedly carry-

mother died in labor, an attempt would be made to push or pull the baby out to save it. 845

Rites after Birth

Spier (1928, 300) reports, "A hole has been dug in front of the woman to receive the child, in which a blanket is folded in nest-like form." A hole is not dug at present. The baby is received on an old blanket or something that can be discarded. The placenta is buried, but blankets and clothing soiled with blood may be burned, buried, or placed in a tree. If the placenta were eaten by an animal, barrenness would result. Also, if these things were not properly disposed of, the child would not be healthy or well behaved. 844 [825 842]

Shortly after delivery or just before the next sunrise, the mother and father are bathed and their hair is washed in yucca suds by the woman's mother or a close female relative of either one of them. The father wears a breechcloth. One informant said that the father's hair is washed for him, but he bathes himself. The mother's cheeks are colored red with some of the paint prepared for the baby. The father is not painted. The shampoo and bath for both parents are repeated on the following three mornings before sunrise. 846 [515] [302]

The father sleeps with his head on a rounded rock pillow for four nights following a birth, so that he will awaken early to work is his fields or hunt for game. He also sleeps on such a pillow for four nights during the first menstrual period of his wife following marriage. (The use of a similar rock pillow occurs in several Havasupai myths in which men flee or are pursued by enemies or are so otherwise engaged that they wish to sleep lightly or awaken early.) [352 513] [841]

The mother's abdomen is bound tightly with a buckskin band, a Hopi belt, or a cloth. This is said to lessen the afterpains, but primarily it is intended to insure the return of the abdomen to normal size.

After delivery the mother wears an old dress which can be discarded if it becomes bloodstained. She retires to rest on her bed over the heated rocks and sand. The heat is thought to insure the flow of blood which, if it remains inside, will cause illness or death. There she spends most of her time for four days or longer if delivery has been difficult. To bring the milk quickly or to increase its quantity, she should lie prone so that the warmth will reach her breasts. [827]

The mother was given corn soup in former days, but now drinks tea or coffee first and a little later drinks the corn soup which is believed to make milk flow freely. After four days the mother eats solid foods and assumes normal eating when she feels so inclined.